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DAZIMINA HANOI

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FIVE PRESIDENTS AND A QUARTER CENTURY OF AGGRESSION

Five U.S. presidents have succeeded one another at the White House, and each of them have been perpetrating more crimes than his predecessor (Photo from THE MILITANT)

"Vietnamization" fated to complete failure

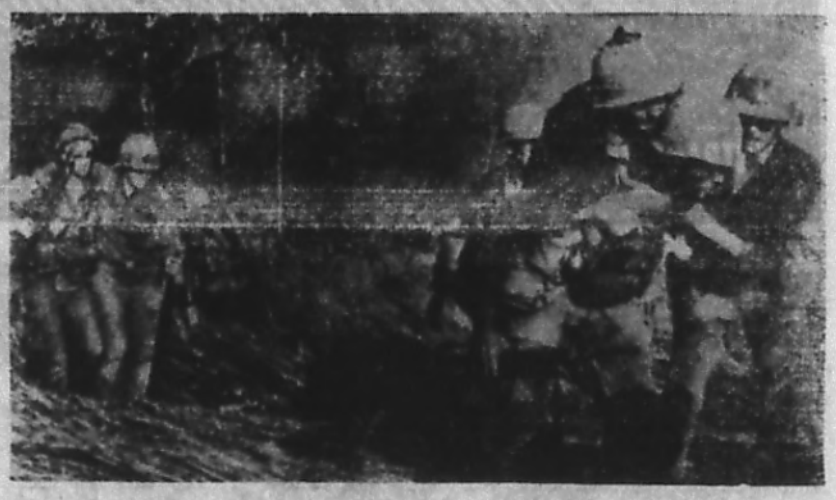
IN the past 25 years since the end of World War Two, no event was more significant than the acknowledgement by the US rulers themselves of the decisive factor of the collapse of imperialism.

This important "discovery" resulted from a series of setbacks and the successive bankruptcy of imperialist "doctrines," policies and manoeuvres of the US on a world scale. It was found out that the US by nature was not fit to play the world leader's role, but the Second World War aftermaths had thrusted it into its hands (Stewart Alsop — *Newsweek*, August 12, 1968). The sudden turning point marking the end of the "US era" again took place in Viet Nam in the last sixties. But the US setbacks in Viet Nam clearly proved that the US had lost its capability and hope to become a predominant force in the world (Report of the British Strategic Studies' Institute in London, April 1969). It also roused L.B. Johnson, when leaving the White House, from his dream and drove home to him that American strength could not force things in the world to come to pass the way the US wanted them to!

The main cause was that in Viet Nam, US neo-colonialism and global strategy have undergone a long, concentrated and most thorough going trial. US imperialism—from a new-type colony with a client administration and some thousand "advisers" to "special" and "limited" wars, and "war escalation," a queer metamorphosis of these—had put into use here its latest "inventions" and deployed the biggest possible all-round military, economic, political and diplomatic force to win victory. By resisting this formidable array of the US, and holding it in check step by step—a thing unbelievable at the outset—, the Vietnamese people's struggle had become a symbol of the life-and-death test of strength between the most progressive and revolutionary forces and the most reactionary and conservative forces in the world at present. As remarked by the *Times* on July 13, 1968, Viet Nam would finally be the place which focused the illusion about the US unlimited strength. The era for US hegemony over the world would not last much longer, and now it was reaching the last stage.

Nixon was nominated president in such a context. Many knowledgeable Americans including Walter Lippman at times thought they might have at least a "new" Nixon. They were quite aware of his political past—a frenzied advocate of the cold war—but also of the trend of the time which any US president couldn't help taking into account. Before and after entering the White House, Nixon also clamoured more loudly than anyone else about the necessity of changing US policies to meet the new realities in the world. Before assuming power, in an article on "Foreign Affairs" in 1967, Nixon spoke about the "post-Viet Nam time" inducing people to believe that for him the "Viet Nam time" — the time of disastrous blunders — was definitively gone. If the naive concept of a "new" Nixon was reinforced by his honey words such as "era of negotiations", "peace for a whole generation," and by "new doctrines"..., it was quickly exploded by Nixon's deeds in Viet Nam and Indochina. After over two years in office, Nixon has revealed his unaltered colours as a "hawk" of the cold war era of the forties and fifties. The real substance of Nixon's policies is to seek to achieve old objectives with new measures, most typical of which is "Vietnamization."

When assuming power, what lessons had Nixon learned from the setbacks of his predecessor? Only one thing: Instead of showing others how to do it, we prefer to do its ourselves! (Nixon's Statement on Viet Nam, Nov. 3, 1969). As he "preferred to do it himself," Johnson dispatched half a million American troops to South Viet Nam in 1965. With this huge force, the US has had to incur an exorbitant war expenditure of 30 billion dollars a year, and suffer very heavy casualties, and therefore has been facing ever stronger protest at home...



"Vietnamization of the war" cannot restrict US expeditionary troops' casualties

"As the main mistake—if not to say the only one — was "Americanization" of the aggression, the remedy to it must be "Vietnamization" of the war. At first, it sounded rather logical, but Johnson had thrown half a million GIs into a narrow strip of land with a 15-million population actually not because he "preferred to do it himself." As he had promised not to send American youths to fight in Asia during the 1964 electoral campaign, Johnson knew that this was not a thing to be done by anyone who wanted to stay in the White House for a second term. But he had no other alternative. Late in 1964, the failure of the US neo-colonialist cause in Viet Nam was transparent. Like his predecessor, Johnson did not want to lose Viet Nam. The only way for him was to "Americanize" the war and step it up in face of ever heavier reverses.

BUT after the 1968 Tet, in a speech on March 31 of the same year, Johnson had to announce the "de-Americanization" of the war, together with the "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam and his decision not to stand for reelection. Clearly enough, "de-Americanization," was an eloquent proof of the ineffectiveness of "Americanization," and Johnson's "de-Americanization" which had been later developed by Nixon into the "Vietnamization" state policy, was a product of failure, a sign of weakness and a mark of bankruptcy.

Nevertheless, this was a fundamental mainstay for Nixon to secure a "position of strength" on the battlefield and at the bargaining table. US shipwreck and Nixon's stupid move originate from there.

What can give Nixon that "position of strength"? The US expeditionary army? It should be recalled that when Johnson had been compelled to announce the start of the "de-Americanization" process, the US had:

— nearly **550,000** men in South Viet Nam;

— **35,000** seamen in the 7th Fleet;

— **46,000** soldiers in Thailand;

— **116,000** troops in Okinawa, Guam and the Philippines.

(A total of nearly 750,000 combat troops not including the Saigon and satellite soldiery — Statistics from the *US News and World Reports*, October 1, 1968).

That means to invade an area of 170,000 square kilometres, the US had to mobilize 68 per cent of its ground forces and paratroopers, nearly 60 per cent of its marines, 60 per cent of its aircraft carriers and 32 per cent of its tactical aircraft, but it harvested only reverse after reverse.

Nixon now is dreaming of a "position of strength" while having to gradually bring its troops home. It is a paradoxical situation. Surely, it was the first time in war history that a country thought it could win by withdrawing its combat troops and diminishing its military presence (Walter Lippman, December 1, 1969).

Can US "inexhaustible riches" provide Nixon with his "position of strength"? The administration has many a time claimed that owing to its boundless affluence, the US can carry on the Viet Nam war and at the same time improve the people's living conditions at home. Realities have proved that this view is but a stupidity and absurdity. (Senator Vance Harke - "The US Crisis in Viet Nam," 1968).

Can Nixon build his "position of strength" on the American people's support to the war? But successive US administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, have been facing a fast mounting anti-war movement, and the warlords in Washington have grown unprecedentedly isolated at home and abroad.

The "position of strength" sought by the Nixon administration in the past two years only exists in the insane minds of people stubborn to the point of blindness. In fact, the US position on the battlefield has been weakening day by day and the formula for achieving the "position of strength" of "Vietnamization" — Saigon army and administration + US increasing aid — has experienced a more obvious failure than ever before.

From South Viet Nam in 1969 to the Plains of Jars in 1970, from the aggression against Cambodia in May last year to the Southern Laos and Highway 9 incursion in February this year, "Vietnamization's" reverses have been ever heavier and ever more humiliating. The military formula "Saigon infantry + US firepower" has brought on the US and its quislings one disaster after another on all battlefields.

Instead of "bringing peace" as claimed by Nixon in his November 3, 1969 speech, the "Vietnamization" plan has been gradually but irresistibly driving the US deeper in the war swamp throughout Indochina. Like an invisible string, it has been pulling Nixon back onto the path of "war escalation" which led Johnson to his political grave 3 years ago.

THE situation could not be tailored to the White House's desire. As "Vietnamization" was in deep waters in South Viet Nam, Nixon was compelled to invade Cambodia, "a poisonous sedative" (*AFP*, May 3, 1970). When the "Vietnamization" of US aggression against Cambodia came to grief and instead helped broaden the revolutionary forces' theatre of action, Nixon was ever more maddened and had to jump into the deep abyss of Southern Laos.

In the raving brains of those who are driven into a corner, the "Nixon doctrine" and "Vietnamization" are thought to be capable not only of helping end the war but to be also a key part of the US program to avoid more Viet Nams in the future. (Nixon's speech, November 3, 1969). But in the hard realities of the Asian mountains and jungles, and under Che Guevara's curses, Nixon had to generate two, three and many more Viet Nams in South-East Asia... (Daniel Ellsberg, the Henry Kissinger's former adviser — *New York Book Review Magazine*, March 11, 1971).

(To be continued)

HUYNH PHUONG and VAN DUC

the traitor's four "nays"

IN his race for the presidency, Nguyen Van Thieu has just made clear again his political stand which consists of "four nays."

This stand is not a novelty, because three-quarters of his life have been devoted to serving the French and the Americans before climbing up to the highest office in the "Republic of Viet Nam." In the last two decades, nobody, in Viet Nam and in the world, has been unaware of his stand and nature.

The first "nay" is to the partition of the country. Thieu is no past master in the trick. In fact, who has kept Viet Nam divided if not the US imperialists and the Diem brothers formerly and Nguyen Van Thieu himself at present? The Yankees have used a dozen henchmen to perpetuate the division of our country and turn her into a new type-colony and military base of the US. A successor to Diem-Nhu in their misdeeds, Thieu had the cheek to declare in 1965 that "the 1954 Geneva agreement is no more valid" and that "it is but a scrap of paper."

The 1954 Geneva Agreements have recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and stipulated that in two years' time, both zones North and South should hold a consultative conference for general elections to reunify the country. The US and its quislings have brazenly challenged these provisions. They have been unceasingly clamouring for a "march on the north." Thieu's scheme to reunify the country is but an aggressive move against the North to put the whole of Viet Nam under the domination of the world policeman: the United States.

Therefore the first "nay" is his criminal allegiance to the US imperialists and his treason of the Fatherland. For this alone, Thieu deserves capital punishment.

The second "nay" is to any coalition government. Everybody knows that Thieu and his American bosses are leaving no stone unturned to maintain a fascist dictatorial regime as a means to massacre and exploit our people.

The proposal to form a coalition government in South Viet Nam is an expression of a broad national concord policy consistent with the actual situation in the South. In advancing it, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam wants to rally all patriotic and democratic forces who stand for independence and democracy. This sensible offer truthfully reflects the aspirations of the broad masses of people, that is why it has won the sympathy and support of the people in the South including the patriotic personalities, intellectuals, leaders of various religions and political parties, high-ranking officers and officials in the Saigon army and administration and public opinion in the world and even in the United States.

By setting his face against it, Nguyen Van Thieu prevents the achievement of national concord, a fine tradition of the Vietnamese people, and of the cherished aspirations of all the strata of the population, regards all the patriotic and democratic forces as foes, and condemns himself to isolation.

The third "nay" is to peace and neutrality, whereas this is what the people devoutly wish for. The South Vietnamese long for peace in independence and freedom. Peace will enable us to live quietly, to build up an autarkic economy, to develop a national education and culture and to get along with all countries regardless of political and ideological tendency provided they respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam.

In close touch with popular feeling, the PRG advocates a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their political systems, and is ready to receive "aid" from any countries with no political strings attached. This line spells out the broad unity and peace intent and friendship of our people. However Nguyen Van Thieu rejects it and does his best to prolong the US war with "Vietnamization." At a time when the South Vietnamese people were militating for an end to the war, Thieu barnstorms the country shouting for a war to the knife. When the Vietnamese and American peoples and the progressives in the world demand a time-limit for complete pullout of US troops from South Viet Nam, for settlement of the Viet Nam problem by the Vietnamese themselves, Thieu brazenly declared to an Australian newsman that "no deadline will be set for complete withdrawal of all US forces from South Viet Nam" and "We (Thieu and the Americans — *Ed.*) have agreed that never will we commit ourselves to a definite time" (for US troop pullout — *Ed.*) Duong Van Minh has remarked: "Thieu speaks of peace but he is actually afraid of it." Thieu is forced to declare against neutrality because he does not have any independent foreign policy. A placeman of the US, he is but a tail which wags at the command of the dog. Nay to neutrality is Thieu's third offence.

The fourth "nay" is to communism. This a policy with an authentic "US label."

It dates back to 1955 when Diem-Nhu instituted it as a "state policy" to crack down on the people who did not see eye to eye with these dictators. Under the "anti-communist" pretext, the fascist law 10/59 was enforced, prisons were built, the guillotine was dragged everywhere in the country, horrible massacres took place at Duy Xuyen, Huong Lap, Phu Loi... In the end, the Diem brothers met their doom as they deserved.

Now treading in Diem-Nhu's steps, Nguyen Van Thieu rants and rages about "anti-communism." The dastardly murder of 500 people at Son My village (the victims were mainly women and children), the prosecution of Tran Ngoc Chau, Truong Dinh Dzu and Ngo Cong Duc accused of pro-communism, speak volumes for Thieu's rabidness. Also under the "anti-communist" signboard, he mounted from 1968 to May 1971 the "Phoenix" campaign during which 20,587 innocent people were killed, 46,390 others arrested and tried. Colby, the American official in charge of "pacification" revealed that the victims of that campaign also were mostly women and children. During his four years in office, Thieu has murdered over 7,800 people and jailed 15,000 others in Ben Tre province alone.

The above-mentioned deeds confirm that the anti-communist policy pursued by Nguyen Van Thieu is but an anti-popular one as it strikes at people and parties hostile to him. This is his fourth crime.

ALL Thieu's four "nays" will rather the multitudinous seas incarnadine with blood from crimes against the nation and the people, against national unity, peace and neutrality and from repression against the people and opposition parties, which are all capital offences.

But in his election program, Thieu has boasted that it is for the sake of the fatherland and the people that he has "made a sacrifice" by running for another term of office.

It is all very well! However, with the four "nays" standpoint, one is not in doubt as to whose mill Thieu will bring grist!

Nobody is taken in. In sheep's clothing a wolf is always a wolf. Nguyen Van Thieu has shown his cloven hoof as a hangsman, a man who betrays the nation and thwarts the legitimate aspirations of the people, a pliant placeman of US imperialists; he serves them heart and soul. His survival is closely dependent on their aggression. With him, the war goes on, killings and devastation continue unabated. What man of conscience wishes to vote for him? The South Vietnamese people are fighting hard to have him removed and a government upholding peace, independence and democracy formed in Saigon in order to consider with the PRG the possibility of setting up a three-segment government of national concord as put forth in the PRG seven points. This righteous endeavour conforms to sense and sentiment and is supported by the people throughout the country and in the world including the American people.

Nevertheless, persisting in his policy of aggression, Nixon still clings to the traitor Nguyen Van Thieu; through the forthcoming elections which will surely be cooked ones, he wants to put on him a new face and go on using him as a willing tool. Nixon can keep any running dog he likes. It is the Vietnamese people who will have the last word. Thieu has flung a challenge at us. We've taken it up. And it is in itself a self-indictment.

AI THI

in the cities * in the cities

– THE Saigon Students' "Committee for the Rights To Live" has conferred with the "General Confederation of Vietnamese Workers" and the "Port Workers Trade Union" and organizations affiliated to it, to demonstrate its solidarity with, and support to, the struggle of the new port workers against the Tran Quoc Buu reactionary faction which, in connivance with American bosses, is trying to put the workers under its sway.

– In their "Speak to Our Compatriots" campaign, Saigon students have distributed over 50,000 leaflets and letters, appealing their fellow-countrymen to smash together with the students every dictatorial and fraudulent measure taken by financiers and war-profiteers in the coming election.

– In their "pre-election" drive, Saigon, Hue and Can Tho students have agreed to set up a "Joint Committee against Fraudulent Election."

Saigon Arts Faculty students staged a 3-day strike in protest against armed intervention by police in the setting-up "The Students' Drive To Supervise Presidential Election."

– 26 Saigon trade-unions with a 40,000 membership went on strike from July 29 to 30, to press for the abolition of tax on salary. Vietnamese functionaries in US bases and public services have also responded to the above strike.

– "The Committee for the Improvement of Penitential Regime" has just indicted the Con Dao warders for brutalities against prisoners. Student Le Tan Viet was savagely beaten up and had his ribs broken. A school-boy Ha Van Dung was beaten to death on the spot. The said Committee also denounced Thieu and his agents for having detained women prisoners in Tan Hiep jail's cells flooded with water which kept them standing up day and night.

– At a mass of requiem for over 100 persons killed by the US-puppets in the Ba Xoai base, the monks and the people of Khmer minority in Tri Ton district, An Giang province, sternly denounced the crimes perpetrated by the enemy. The puppet major in the Ba Xoai commando barracks had to admit cruelties and promise compensation to the victims' families.

– A "Committee for Co-ordination in Action" has just been set up by the Council of War Invalids in Saigon and other localities to struggle for the satisfaction of all urgent claims regarding the life of puppet war invalids and the release of 11 war invalids now on a hunger-strike in Chi Hoa jail.

– Functionaries and servicemen in Gia Dinh have set up the "Committee for the Defence of the Interests of Servicemen and Functionaries." The Committee is to rally forces and step up the struggle for the people's living conditions and democratic liberties.

– Nearly 200 teachers in the Council of Examiners in Can Tho province went up to Saigon to protest against the quisling administration for having condoned local thugs in their offences to women-teachers. The General Association of Teachers and its Saigon branch have sent a protest letter to the puppet administration and made an appeal to all teachers to oppose resolutely such offences.

– On July 27, the Dien Tin *(Telegraph) and* Tin Sang *(Morning News) were confiscated for having published articles exhorting the youths to oppose the presence of American GIs and flay US-puppets' war crimes in South Viet Nam. Since early July, Thieu and his men have seized 15 papers' issues, fined 8 others and jailed 1 Chief-Editor.*

PLAF Drives of Successful Actions in Central Trung Bo

THE armed forces and people in the central part of Trung Bo (Central Viet Nam) in the past six months continued attacking the adversary in all parts, from Da Nang to Cam Ranh, from the coastal delta region to the High Plateaux. The three kinds of troops of the PLAF, in harmoniously co-ordinated actions and with imagination, hit at the enemy troops in their defence perimeters and at their coercive forces, thereby effectively helping the masses rise up to wrest back control of their land.

According to still incomplete figures, in the first half of this year, **62,600** adverse casualties were recorded, including **5,984** GIs and **3,652** Pak Jung Hi mercenaries.

In several engagements, the patriotic forces wiped out battalions or clusters of enemy troops digging in in strong fortifications, and levelled a series of US-Saigon bases or military subsectors. The annihilation of a battalion of Brigade 196, Americal Division, at Xa Doc base on March 28 was a great loss for the US mobile forces. The knocking out of two battalions of Saigon Regiment 6, Division 2, at Nui Dau base (Quang Ngai province) in late April and of a mixed civil-guard unit in Phu Yen in mid-February, and other battles south of the High Plateaux "further aggravated the military situation" (*AFP*, June 25, 1971).

In the period under review, the adversary lost in all on the Central Trung Bo battlefront 9 battalions, 62 companies and 269 platoons of regular troops and a mixed civil-guard unit put out of action, including one battalion, 1 company and 16 platoons of GIs, and one company, 8 platoons and a battalion CP of Pak Jung Hi mercenaries.

A series of US Saigon important bases and strategic storages in Da Nang, Quang Ngai, Quy Nhon, Cam Ranh, Banmethuot... were repeatedly and devastatingly raided. The Da Nang strategic air base came under fire for ten or more times, and in some months nearly 60 aircraft including 41 jet planes and C.130s and more than 700 tons of bombs and ammunition were destroyed, over 20 million litres of gasoline set ablaze, and 70 American pilots and technicians killed or wounded.

The Deo Son strategic storage area (in Binh Dinh province) was on 6 occasions rushed with over 70,000 tons of bombs and ammunition, over 6 million litres of gasoline, dozens of tens of other goods and 117 military vehicles blown up. The US naval and air base in Cam Ranh also came under series of attacks and suffered serious damage. On the night of May 23 alone, the same base was assaulted over again and sustained the biggest losses in fuel in a single battle (*UPI*, 24, 1971).

Also in the first 6 months of 1971, the armed forces and people in Central Trung Bo erased **212** logistic storages with nearly **100** sets of military equipment, flattened thousands of blockhouses, bunkers and barracks. Strategic Highways 1, 14, 19 and 21... as well as inter-provincial roads were constantly cut off, 2,486 military vehicles including 528 tanks and armoured cars wrecked, dozens of trains with over 160 carriages overturned, and 103 bridges and culverts blown up.

GUERILLA warfare was also constantly developing in the three strategic areas, unceasingly enveloping and attacking the adversary, wiping out an important part of their manpower and war materials. In the past six months, the guerillas took a toll of 22,909 adverse casualties — over 30 per cent of the enemy losses on all battlefields—, put out of action 643 military vehicles and brought down 126 aircraft — one — fourth of the total number of military vehicles and aircraft destroyed in Central Trung Bo. In the delta, the guerillas clung to the people and their land, fought off all the enemy sweeps and attempts to herd the people and "pacification" operations, and helped the inmates of "strategic hamlets and centres" rise up to batter "pacification" and regain control of their land. Guerillas and the regional forces day and night encircled and applied pressure on enemy posts, blocked their traffic and harassed their rear. Guerillas in a village of Quang Nam province in a single day quickly wrote off two civil guard platoons. Their mates and the regional forces in Duc Pho district (Quang Ngai province) in the last ten days of March killed or wounded 169 adverse men and took prisoner 57 others, assisting 20,000 people in their uprising to recover control.

On the night of March 27 alone, the regional liberation armed forces and guerillas swept away an entire enemy coercive system on an area of over 30 square kilometres, killed or captured thousands of troops, and helped 16,000 inmates at 11 "strategic hamlets" shatter the enemy grip.

In the mountain regions, guerillas and the regional forces neatly wiped out every pocket of enemy spy-commandos and beat off many US-Saigon raids against the liberated areas. In 40 days ended June 16, guerillas and the regional forces in the mountain area of Quang Nam and Quang Ngai provinces foiled "Operation Quyet Thang 20-B" of Saigon Division 2, inflicted on it 1,200 casualties. The PLAF in the mountains fought side by side with the local people, took part in construction and defence.

In the cities and the coastal areas guerilla warfare was also active and constantly threatened the adverse rear.

Da Nang, the most important city in Central Trung Bo, though strongly defended, was unable to cope with it. Guerillas in the coastal areas and the city self-defence armed forces put out of combat wicked thugs' pockets, convoys of motorized vehicles in broad daylight and right in the streets. Since early this year, guerillas in Da Nang have wiped out 2,400 US and Saigon troops, mostly officers and police agents of notorious cruelty and blasted out of use over 100 military vehicles.

Combining armed attacks and uprisings, the armed forces and people in Central Trung Bo dealt telling blows at the enemy "pacification" program, crushed by big chunks their coercive machinery, wrested back control on large areas, stepped up political actions and agitation work among the adverse troops, thereby quickening their disintegration. In the first half of 1971, **18,300** Saigon troops left their ranks, including **1** battalion, **7** companies and **167** platoons completely disbanded.

Following up their gains and co-ordinating actions with the armed forces and people on all South Viet Nam battlefields, the army and people in Central Trung Bo are likely to further improve their past record.

THANH HONG

The victors

Duc Duc Military Sub-Sector Under PLAF Combined Attack

LYING on a high hill, the Duc Duc military sub-sector of over 500 m long and nearly 300 m large, was surrounded by a 6 layers of wire entanglement. Inside it were a series of gun-nests and blockhouses, with a network of bunkers and entrenchments—the enemy last dig-in area and also their emergency exit.

Around the sub-sector were set up 10 strongly-defended "strategic hamlets" forming its outer defence perimeter. Only two kilometres south of the base, the An Hoa Chemicals' Centre and the headquarters of Saigon Regiment 51, guarded by a battalion, constituted an inter-related position for mutual rescue in case of hostile attacks.

Unit X of the PLAF in Quang Da had been ordered to level the Duc Duc military sub-sector and sweep away the adverse coercive forces there. Officers and men of the said unit had made a very minute investigation and drawn up a plan to wipe out in a single battle all the die-hards digging in in the military sub-sector and all the wicked thugs in its defence perimeter.

The liberation fighters broke through the two fences of "strategic hamlets" and inched towards the target under enemy sporadic fire. Under favour of night, the guerillas and people herded in these disguised jails made cuts in the fences and secretly mounted guard, helping the PLAF men penetrate into the adverse position. Deeply touched by such cooperation, the patriotic fighters, promised to themselves to carry the day at all costs not to disappoint the people's expectations.

At 1.45 a.m., immediately after the charging order was given, the first detachment entrusted with occupying the whole enemy sub-sector, like a flash of lightning, made breaches in the barbed wive fences with petards. Less than a minute later, the task force dashed towards the assigned target. Fighter Tinh, after killing the sentry, led the shock unit in an assault on the sub-sector CP, and within 7 minutes, did short work of all the men there. In the same length of time, the second prong also wiped out the enemy at the police sector. Meanwhile, the PLAF fighters in charge of attacking the wicked bravos' quarter, after blocking all their way out, erased all the houses, fortifications and bunkers, and knocked out all the ruffians there. At the gun site area, the patriotic forces blew up two 105 mm guns and two 106,7 mm mortars, two ammunition storages and a gasoline dump. In the meantime, the PLAF men at the prison area, after mowing down the guards, forced open the jail door, to let out the people and patriotic fighters detained inside who rushed out to embrace them.

Fighting went on and the remaining adverse structures continued to be levelled one after another. At 3 a.m. that day, above the blazing position, the RSVN PRG banner was seen fluttering.

While the PLAF first detachment was active in the military sub-sector, the two others, like two pincers, tightened their noose around the enemy troops at the "strategic hamlets," the A Dong, Dong Tram, Bo Xe Nuoc, Vuon Xoai, Thanh My, Phu Da, Cua So 5 "resettlement centres"... In face of the PLAF shattering offensive, the whole enemy coercive machinery in the disguised jails was either wiped out or disbanded.

At 5 a.m., after blotting out all targets, the patriotic forces continued assaulting the An Hoa Chemicals' Centre, High Point 45 and My Son Hill. Under their pressure, the adverse troops stationed at Nong Hoang and Go Lang installations respectively in Xuyen Hoa and Xuyen Khuong villages fled from their posts.

In support of their ground forces the PLAF gunners in Quang Da pounded without let-up the CP and artillery emplacement of Saigon Regiment 51, thus completely paralysing the adversary there.

Right after the gunfire was heard, people in villages west of Duy Xuyen district, surged up in all parts. The enemy coercive system which first seemed to be very solid and steady was suddenly torn to pieces. Hundreds of people in Xuyen Hoa, Xuyen Phu, Xuyen Thanh, Xuyen Khuong villages..., with pointed sticks and lances co-ordinated actions with the liberation fighters in pursuing the wicked thugs and spies.

Defying enemy aircraft hovering overhead, thousands of people living around the military sub-sector swarmed into the streets, and with picks and shovels demolished the highways from Duc Duc to Duy Xuyen and Ai Nghia. Thousands of others herded in "strategic hamlets" also rose up, reduced to ashes all the houses inside and returned to their native villages.

editorial

Five Presidents of USA and A Quarter Century of Aggression

A secret Pentagon study has been brought to light. The US government is embarrassed, the US Congress dissatisfied, American opinion stirred, and tongues set wagging everywhere in the world. It must be noted that with the Pentagon papers only a small part of the story has been revealed. However as they are, the disclosures have opened a peep-hole for public opinion to peer into facts and see the real intentions of past and present US rulers.

What does in effect the document show? First and foremost, it clearly points to the fact that the US policy in Viet Nam has never been anything else than imperialist intervention and aggression applied and developed by Washington under successive administrations from Truman to Johnson and Nixon. Up to now the US imperialists have never ceased clamouring that "the North has committed aggression against the South," and that the Americans have come to South Viet Nam to "defend the freedom" of its people. Added to the multifarious realities on the field over the past twenty-five years, the facts — still incomplete — referred to in the Pentagon papers have smashed such allegations to smithereens.

The study unmistakably proves that the only interventionist, the sole aggressor in South Viet Nam is US imperialism. The latter's intervention and aggression lies at the bottom of the Vietnamese, Indochinese and American people's tragedy. For a quarter-century this policy has flouted the fundamental national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

LET us have a look at the US bloody, criminal record.

— Upon Tokyo's capitulation in 1945, the USA attempted to use Chiang Kai-shek's troops sent to disarm the Japanese in our country to establish its rule here. The scheme ended in a lamentable fiasco.

— The USA then turned to supplying the French colonialists with money and weapons when they staged a come-back to Indochina. From 1950 to 1953, it provided France for her war with 2.6 billion, 400,000 tons of weapons, 1,400 tanks, 340 aircraft and 350 warships.

— Financial and hardware aid having failed to stave off France's defeat, the US government embarked on direct intervention in South Viet Nam.

— Carrying into effect neo-colonialist manoeuvres, the Eisenhower government rigged up a client administration under Ngo Dinh Diem; it used economic and military aid to put the latter on its feet in a bid to quell the revolutionary movement, to make South Viet Nam a US neo-colony and military base, which eventually would serve as a spring-board against the DRVN and the socialist camp, world peace and security.

— But the collapse of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration and the resulting bankruptcy of the "strategic hamlet" state policy led to the obvious failure of neo-colonialism. The US imperialists with the Kennedy administration as their representative, stepped up economic and military aid, sent more materiel and American advisers to South Viet Nam, and strove to build up the Saigon army as strategic force in their "special warfare" against the South Vietnamese people.

— "Special warfare" having come to grief, the Johnson administration shifted to "limited warfare," and an aero-naval war against the DRVN.

— Following the total flop of both, Nixon has resorted to Vietnamization which is in essence prolongation and extension of the aggressive war with a view to securing a strong posture in a losing situation with extremely ruthless military means and machiavellian political and diplomatic tricks.

THE past twenty-five years is a chapter in the history of US imperialism in Viet Nam and Indochina, full of crimes of the darkest dye by five successive administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, against our people and our country. The Pentagon papers have only confirmed a minor part of them. Being limited to a period from the end of World War II to mid-1968, they cannot but refer to Washington's designs and acts within the said period. This has not however prevented them from baring the nature of the current Nixon administration — which is actually carrying on the work of the previous ones — and the essence of its policy and actions.

Nobody forgets that Richard Nixon was Vice-President in the Eisenhower administration. In this capacity he had contributed to deceiving American opinion and was responsible for part of the crimes mentioned in the Pentagon document. Since early 1969, as US President, he has been continuing his predecessors' policy in South Viet Nam and Indochina with unprecedented ruthlessness and cruelty.

Nixon came to power at a time when US imperialism was sustaining series of setbacks. And it was in this context that he worked out

the doctrine bearing his name, which essentially boils down to dividing other nations, to using one people to fight against another or against their own countrymen, to splitting revolutionary movements in order to weaken them, and to repressing, or halting the advance of, revolutionary forces in other countries.

The "Vietnamization of the war" is the quintessence of the Nixon doctrine applied in Viet Nam, the continuation and expansion of the US war of aggression, an attempt at preserving the US neo-colonialist rule. In over two years of office, Nixon has been bending tremendous efforts to the success of the project and as a result, fresh atrocities have been visited on the South Vietnamese people. To date US war spending has already reached the 200-billion mark and the amount of bombs and bullets used exceeded 10 million tons, i.e. far more than the tonnage used in the two world wars. As admitted by Colby who was until recently in charge of the US pacification program in South Viet Nam, from the beginning of the war to April this year, some 5.8 million civilians — or more than one-third of the population — were killed, wounded or had their homes and property destroyed (AP, April 24, 1971). Aside from savage mass slayings of the Son My type, thousands of tons of US toxic chemicals and gases have devastated more than 1.8 million hectares of paddies, orchards and forest, and poisoned over 65,000 people.

NIXON's Vietnamization strategy supplies the most cogent proof of the cruel nature of US imperialism, of the aggressive and war-seeking character of the so-called Nixon doctrine. Reality has amply demonstrated that this doctrine is nothing short of colonialism, of aggressive and colonial wars in a new contradiction, i.e. when the US suffers stinging blows on the battlefield, when it finds itself in a mess at home and in utter isolation abroad, when its economy is in dire straits. The Nixon doctrine, therefore, is the reactionary global strategy of the US, the condensed expression of the obdurate, bellicose, wicked and machiavellian nature of American imperialism. It has been spawned by a succession of setbacks in Viet Nam and elsewhere as a frantic effort of the US to extract itself from a weak, losing position.

WITH the Nixon doctrine and the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy, US imperialism has revealed its true colours as the most dangerous, the most cruel and vicious enemy of the Vietnamese, Indochinese and world peoples. With this doctrine and strategy it has appeared as an international gendarme, the centre of world counter-revolution, the public enemy N°1 of mankind.

Aggression naturally calls for counter-aggression. For independence and liberty, the Vietnamese people have risen up in arms. They have been persveringly, courageously resisting and frustrating one after another all of the US war schemes and acts, driving the Nixon administration deeper and deeper in the tunnel of their aggressive war in Viet Nam and Indochina. On the other hand, our forces have been growing with every passing day in the process of their direct confrontation with the American invaders. Thanks to the successes won in the last 25 years of their revolution, the people of South Viet Nam, of Viet Nam as a whole, have emerged as the opponent with invincible strength on the field and the interlocutor with a decisive say at the conference table. By strengthening their unity, increasing their vigilance and enduringly pushing up their resistance shoulder to shoulder with their northern fellow-countrymen and in close cooperation with the peoples and patriotic forces of Cambodia and Laos, the South Vietnamese and their PLAF will surely get the upper hand of the American aggressors, keep in check Nixon's counter-revolutionary doctrine and completely baffle the Vietnamization strategy exactly as they did the war strategy of the four US presidents preceding Nixon.

With the 7-point peace initiative of the PRG of the RSVN, the South Vietnamese people have opened for the US imperialists a way out of their impasse in safety and with honour. If they persist in their refusal and go on treading the path of aggression and war, they will surely meet with a more shameful failure and will finally be swept out of Viet Nam and Indochina.

SOUTH VIET NAM

In our liberated zone

o On July 20, 1971, literary and artistic workers of the South Viet Nam Liberation Literature and Arts Association held a meeting to commemorate the Association's 10th founding anniversary.

On this occasion, the Central Committee of the NFL and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam sent a message warmly commending the great achievements recorded by South Viet Nam revolutionary writers and artists in the past ten years. "Unite with one another," the message said, "close your ranks within the Association, strengthen the revolutionary literary and artistic forces, win patriotic and progressive writers and artists over to the side of justice, oppose the US imperialists and their henchmen, fight for a wholesome national literature and arts in Saigon, other urban centres and all over South Viet Nam..."

o In the first five months of 1971, the Educational Service of Quang Ngai province opened 86 new general education classes and complementary classes, 38 infant classes attended by over 2,000 pupils. In the same period, the Cultural Information Service of Quang Ngai province brought out two volumes of the book "Good Men, Good Deeds," organized nearly 600 talks on current affairs for 60,000 attendances.

o In Kien Phong province, 12 performances were given by two shock troupes drawing an audience of over 2,000 from the town and its periphery.

A first artistic festival was held by the Information Service of Kontum province with the participation of nearly 100 artistes coming from hamlets, villages, provinces and from amateur troupes of the armed forces. The 46 entries included songs, dances, playlets, solos, traditional music. One-third of the works were rendered inminority languages. Six dances, four songs and eight plays were rewarded by the Kontum people's revolutionary committee.

o Despite repeated enemy raids, the farmers in the provinces of Tra Vinh, Vinh Long, Can Tho, Soc Trang have completed the planting of 1,000 hectares of early rice. The peasants in five districts of the same province have finished putting 600 hectares under early rice and are tilling an additional one thousand hectares for the summer-autumn rice.

o Outstanding achievements have been credited to the Transport and Communications Service of Khanh Hoa province: in five months the volume of goods handled increased by 10% compared with the same period of 1970. 123 transport workers were commended as outstanding workers and 53 others as resolute fighters. After summing up the work done in the past five months, this service has started a "three goods" emulation campaign aimed at serving the liberation armed forces in the province.

o Recently the Thua Thien-Hue Liberation Women's Association has held a congress to review the women's movement in 1971 and appoint a new committee.

Present at the congress were delegations from various districts in the plains, highlands and Hue city. Heroine Nguyen Thi Lai also attended.

The summing up made by the Standing Committee of the Thua Thien - Hue Liberation Women's Association stressed the determination, patriotism and self-denial in combat and production of many women ; at the same time it mapped out the trend and tasks for Thua Thien - Hue women in the coming period.

Photo above:
Attendants to a puppetry school in the liberated zone during rehearsal

theatre in the resistance

OVER the past ten years, since the emergence of the Liberation Literature and Arts Association, the theatre has been always active in all the three categories of areas. One goes to the theatre not only for entertainment but also "to learn how to become a man," as the peasants say, "to admire an impersonation of men's virtues," as the urban intellectuals hold or to contribute to the "exploits of one's unit," as the regiment political commissars of the Liberation Army assess.

Inconceivably enough, South Viet Nam, though under a deluge of fire all round the clock, rings with songs and bustles with artistic activities.

The theatre develops everywhere. Song and dance ensembles of the NFL, of the people, of the army are organized both at central and provincial levels. Many districts and towns set up their own semi-professional troupes. Most of the villages have theatrical teams down to their hamlets. Besides the professionals, there are tens of thousands of amateurs : guerillas, teachers, nurses, grassroots cadres, old artists... who take up cultural work while carrying out the fighting and production.

Every year, many provinces hold festivals from the village up to the provincial level to exchange experience and scout talents for professional troupes.

Among the professional theatrical workers there seems to be no clear-cut division of labour between performers and composers, between directors and stage operators. Many scripts are collective works of artistes and directors. Inversely, script writers often engage in staging and acting.

Script-writers, though still small in number, have been credited with great and dedicated efforts.

A director for many years, Nguyen Vu has immersed himself in the embattled life of the people. Under the force of circumstances and theatrical development, he has felt the need to write — even one-act plays or a few scenes. The scripts he has written or staged are stamped with the originality of a writer anxious to find new forms of expression. From the start, his plays have been highly valued : "The Land", "Water", "Spring", "I Fight the Enemy Wherever He Is" and many other short creations.

Tran Ngoc specializes in scripts for the reformed drama. Over the past ten years he has produced 17 short plays and 2 long ones : "No to Population Resettlement", "Don't Go, Auntie' "Let He and She Go", "What Is To Be Done ?", "Supreme Joy"... These plays have been of opportune political use, and truthfully reflected the achievements of the South Viet Nam army and people. Many characters and situations have been faithfully rendered, bringing out the courage, generosity and staunchness of the South Vietnamese.

In Central Viet Nam, Tung Bach, Phan Ngan have dealt with South Viet Nam women "In Go Noi", "Near the Cau River"... showing the people's attachment to their villages and resolve "not to yield an inch" and to oppose the US "pacification of the countryside." Such works as "The Call of the Native Land" by Ma No and Y Nghi, "Up Comes the Salt", "Hero Kpa Klong"... are operas of the national minorities performed in Ede, Bahnar, Jarai languages which have galvanized the Western Plateaux people to unite in the defence of their villages against the enemy.

In Tri-Thien provinces, Nguyen Tien Trung continually turns to Hue city by depicting indomitable people in his plays "The Night of Nhat Chi Mai", "Let Us Hold Our Flag"...

Generally speaking, theatrical works center on the struggle against US aggression and with as their fundamental and main plots the clash between the enemy and us, between justice and injustice, between patriotism and aggression or Treason. The chief aim is to embitter the deep hatred for the enemy, to glorify the revolutionary heroism of our army and people, and to convey the "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" axiom so as to fire the people to fulfil the sacred mission entrusted by the Fatherland.

The "four seasons" flower grows in profusion on whatever land in whatever weather. It is beautiful not because its petals resemble butterflies or because its violet colour is the colour of our hopes, but because it is strong and can thrive on arid pebbles or burning sands. In war-torn South Viet Nam, artistes are likened to those "four seasons" flowers, for they not only are ready to undergo hardships and privations and to sacrifice their lives, but also are deeply aware that artistes are those who impart revolutionary thinking and feeling to the people, who mix with them and live and fight at their side. That is why their acting is natural, variegated and lively, neither artificial nor affected.

Over the past ten years, artistic performances have been held everywhere in South Viet Nam, in the liberated deltas, the remote forests, the city surroundings, the "strategic hamlets" or the concentration camps. Any place can provide a stage. Artistes have acted for tens of thousands, for a dozen, or even for a few spectators. They go about among the masses, do farm work with the peasants and fight side by side with armymen and guerillas, sharing weal and woe with them.

A revolutionary art and a variegated theatre has come into being in South Viet Nam now holding in check US aggression, with wonderful and heroic characters, simple and hardworking but clever and skilful at the same time. This constitutes a boundless fountain-head for writers and artistes. One can thus rightly affirm that the theatre at present is richer in quantily and quatity than in the past.

The realities of life and heroic fighting of our people are urging authors and artistis to make greater contributions to the entertainment and ideological education of the masses. With regard to the enemy, the stage must become also a battlefield. It is after this goal that the liberation theatre has been striving hard.

TUNG BACH
From Giai Phong Literature and Arts

The Thai people's six-year-old armed struggle

A just cause and glorious achievements

ON August 7, 1965, crackled the first insurrectional gunshots of Thai patriots at Nabua village, That Thanom district, Nakhon Phanom province, northeast Thailand, ushering in a new stage of the Thai people's liberation movement.

Since then, the Thai patriotic armed forces have been experiencing a rapid growth. From the first unit set up in Ubon on November 19, 1965, they now comprise many great-size outfits active everywhere in the country. They have fought most valiantly and most successfully. Reviewing these achievements the French magazine *Politique* of February 18, 1971 assessed: "The resistance [of the Thai people] has recorded significant successes on the battlefield."

It is US aggression and the Thanom clique's treason that lies the cause of the outburst and inevitable development of the Thai people's armed struggle.

The Thai reactionary authorities have invited more than 60,000 GIs into Thailand. They have grabbed nearly 500,000 hectares of land from the peasants for the Americans to build on it military bases, major airfields, networks of strategic roads... to serve the US aggressive operations in Indochina and Southeast Asia. They have gradually yielded to US monopolies the control of all the key economic branches (tin, rubber, rice...) of Thailand and the right to plunder its materials and heavily exploit its manpower.

They have introduced US depraved life into Thai society, "cruelly disrupted its traditional structures" and triggered its "decay" (*Politique*, February 18, 1971). They have joined hands with the Americans in harshly repressing the revolution and the people's movement for independence and democracy.

In 1967, the US aggressors bluntly stated that all their "AID" funds in Thailand had but one goal: to contain, control and stamp out the communist uprising in the countryside."

On US orders the Thanom clique has been striving to implement Nixon doctrine of pitting Asians against Asians by drafting Thai youths and hurling them into the Indochina battlefields. Wrote *Africasia* (issue No 4, January 17, 1971): "Over the past 20 years, the Thai have seen their country turned into a huge runway for B.52s, fighter-bombers and helicopters to take off and sow death in other Southeast Asian countries. They have also witnessed their army become a mercenary one for the Americans and their borders be used as a staging base for CIA special forces and agents to start their subversive missions in Laos and North Viet Nam."

Clearly enough, with the connivance of the client Thanom clique, the US aggressors have brazenly turned Thailand into a neo-colony of theirs, "a rest and recreation centre for US expeditionary troops," "the 51st state of the USA," "the best aircraft-carrier (of theirs) in Asia" (*Politique*, February 18, 1971), "a main cog in the US machinery of aggression in the Far East" (*Africasia*, issue No 4, January 17, 1971).

In face of this great threat to their country, the Thai people have risen up in arms to save their homes and their land.

From the August 7, 1965 uprising to the widespread guerilla activities in the first years, together with a series of dramatic battles after the merging of all armed units into a People's Liberation Army (January 1, 1965), the Thai people's armed forces have fought thousands of engagements, wiped out nearly 10,000 enemy troops, downed and destroyed hundreds of planes.

The Liberation fighters have most valiantly, cleverly and boldly attacked US big airfields, sabotaged strategic highways and assaulted solid strongholds from Northeast to Northwest and down South.

Along with the armed fight, in the cities and populated centres like around US military bases, the Thai people from all strata have also stood up. According to still incomplete figures, over the past three years there have broken out more than 400 workers' actions, nearly 1,000 peasants' protests and more than 100 students and pupils' drives against repression, exploitation, land eviction, persecution, and the decadent culture and education of the Americans and their lackeys.

Recently, the unrest in the cities has aggravated. From July 1 to 9, 1970, more than 10,000 students in six universities opposed the reactionary authorities' increase of taxes, drafting of youths and preparations to send aggressive troops into Cambodia. On July 23, 1971, in Bangkok, thousands of people held a big demonstration, paraded through the streets and indignantly shouted "GIs go home," "the US lackeys will be defeated," "We want a policy of independence"... The Bangkok police spokesman had to admit on July 23 that Thailand had of late been the scene of many mammoth meetings against the USA and the administration.

At present, the opposition to the Americans and the Thanom clique is eliciting an active response from many other broad social segments. According to *Politique* of February 1971, Kukrit Promoj, a newspaper editor and 11 conservative monarchists in Bangkok have come out against US crimes and demanded: "Brutal Americans, go back to your dens."

In the constantly successful drive against the Americans and the Thai traitors, the Thai Patriotic Front and Communist Party have been playing an especially important role. To their credit can be ascribed all gains obtained so far and they have been the cement uniting all the armed patriotic and peace forces in Thailand. The Thai Patriotic Front has called on the people and army to strengthen their unity, fight hard, build and consolidate resistance bases, defend the local people's power, and together with the three Indochinese peoples coordinate their actions against the American aggressors and their stooges until total victory.

Standing in the common front against the same enemy, US imperialism, the South Vietnamese people fully back the just struggle of the Thai people, warmly hail their feats and are firmly confident that their just cause which enjoys sympathy and support from progressives throughout the world, will certainly triumph.

LUU NGUYEN

REPRESSION AND MASSACRE OF PATRIOTS RUN COUNTER TO SUDANESE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

ACCORDING to foreign sources, on July 19, 1971 a coup d'état took place in the Sudan against the El Nimeiry administration, with the active participation of peasants, workers and patriotic officers. The principal leaders of the coup were Major Ahmed Atta, other persons who had led the May 1969 coup which overthrew the dictatorial regime lackey of imperialism and who were later discarded from the Revolutionary Council and the Nimeiry Government on charge of "pro communist tendency."

On July 22, 1971, foreign aircraft, tanks and armoured cars bombarded the Headquarters of the Revolutionary Council. The plane which flew home two members of the Revolutionary Council from London was forced to land in Libya. The two were arrested and sent to the Sudan. General Nimeiry came back to power, ordered a curfew and declared a state of emergency in the whole country. He ordered the arrest of all participants in the coup and scores of Sudanese patriots, then hastily brought them to trial and executed dozens of them including Mr. Ahmet El Sheikh, Secretary General of the Sudanese Trade Unions and Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Major Ahmed Atta and Mr. Abdul Khalek Mahgoub, Secretary General of the Sudanese Communist Party.

The bloody repression which is taking place in the Sudan, has aroused great concern in the world's public opinion which has strongly protested against the Sudanese authorities and at the same time severely denounced the role of the imperialists in this brutal repression.

Repressing and massacring Sudanese patriots is to go counter to the interests of the Sudanese people, to harm the struggle against imperialism, for the independence and democracy of the people of the Arab countries. This act is only beneficial to the US and British imperialists and the Israeli aggressors.

The South Vietnamese people, while extending deep sympathy with the present difficulties of the Sudanese people and patriots, indignantly condemn the brutal repression and massacre perpetrated by the Sudanese authorities, and resolutely demand the latter to stop immediately their repression and slaughter of Sudanese patriots

Stockholm people demonstrating in support of the SVN NFL and for end to the US aggressive war in Viet Nam

⊙ *On July 21, tens of thousands of people attended a meeting held in Lima in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. A representative of the Peruvian Federation of Trade Unions stressed that the Peruvian people side with the Vietnamese in the common struggle for independence and freedom.*

⊙ *On July 23, in a big meeting held at Concepcion University, Chile, to express solidarity with the Vietnamese people, Mr Antonio Leal, member of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Youths Union praised the great successes recorded by the Vietnamese people in all fields and pointed out that in the present era, the highest peak of struggle against imperialism is the fight of the heroic Vietnamese people.*

⊙ *On July 24, an international week of the solidarity with the Vietnamese people opened in Aden. Speaking at the inaugural rally, on behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of Yemen, Mr Abdul Aziz Addali, Minister of Health, reiterated Yemen's resolute support for the Indochinese people's just struggle against the US aggressors.*

The International Day against A-H Bombs (August 6)

ASIAN AND WORLD PEOPLES' ENEMY NUMBER ONE

26 years ago, on Oct. 6 and 9, 1945 the US dropped in succession two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two Japanese cities, exacting a toll of 450,000 casualties. The effects of the raids did not end there as hundreds of thousands of Japanese still suffer from incurable diseases caused by nuclear radiations.

There is at present a clear realization by everyone that the two A-bombs were no contributions to the victory of the Asian and world peoples over Japanese fascism, and their dropping constituted only an infamous crime of US imperialism vis-à-vis the Japanese people. They laid bare the US claim at the time that it was "struggling for peace, independence and freedom of nations in the anti-fascist war," and fully exposed the barbarous nature of that chieftain of imperialism. In dumping their bombs and mass-massacring Japanese civilians the American imperialists thought they could cow everybody, stem the mounting national liberation movement all over the world, halt the progress of human history and materialize their dream of "world hegemony." They were grossly mistaken. The explosion of the two A-bombs with incalculable ensuing ill effects carried a vehement accusation: US imperialism is the enemy number one of the Asian and world peoples.

US imperialism usually arrogates to itself the "mission of world leadership." Successive counter-revolutionary global strategies have been elaborated by it: from "brinkmanship" and "massive retaliation" full of aggressiveness to "flexible response" and "new strategy for peace", indicative of the craftiness and ruthlessness of a declining colonialist power. History in the past quarter of a century has shown that all US strategies have been designed to achieve an aggressive aim and that the basic policy of the United States under five presidents have been but a policy of war. This policy has grown more forceful and more cunning with every passing day, especially under Nixon. The "new Asian policy" — part of the "Nixon doctrine" — tends to rally the various counter-revolutionary forces of this region, with Japanese militarism as the core, into an aggressive military alliance, divide the nations, pit one section against the other so as to sow confusion among sovereign countries and oppose the national liberation movement in Asia. The "Nixon doctrine" as applied to Asia finds its expression primarily in the prolonging of the war in South Viet Nam and its expanding to the whole Indochina, which is called "Vietnamization" by the US imperialists.

But the Nixon doctrine is also a faithful reflection of the losing posture and weakening of the US aggressors in face of the tumultuous advance of the world revolutionary movement for peace, national independence and social progress. In particular, the US failure in the war of aggression against Viet Nam — transformed by Nixon into a war of aggression against Indochina — is made fully transparent in the collapse of the "special war" and "limited war" strategies and in the initial bankruptcy of "Vietnamization." These were the most serious serious setbacks ever sustained by the US in its history, which lies at the origin of the fascist behaviour of the US administration with regard to progressive forces at home. But they have also thrown light on the inability of the 10.5 million tons of US bombs used in this war — which equal more than 750 Hiroshima bombs — to bring to their knees the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia resolved to fight to the bitter end for independence and freedom. Reversely, the patriotic resistance of the Indochinese peoples is getting nearer and nearer to its final victory. On the other hand, the crimes committed by the US aggressors in Indochina have driven home to the US and world progressives the ferocity of that beast which rules over America and sows death and destruction on the whole world. Twenty-six years ago it appeared in its true features when it released two A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. — a blood debt never to be forgotten by the Japanese and Asian peoples. That beast — US imperialism — is the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of Viet Nam, Indochina, Asia and the world.

US crimes against the Japanese, Indochinese and Asian peoples only gain in heinousness when it joins hands with Japanese militarism. The latter has been entrusted by Nixon with the task of putting into application the US reactionary policy of "making Asians fight Asians." It has turned Japan into a logistic and operational base of special importance at the service of the US war of aggression against Indochina. The Japanese people thus once again fall into the claws of militarist groups which during World War II drove Japan into the abyss of war. And those who 26 years back dropped A-bombs on Japan are now enjoying the full right to use Japan as a starting base for B.52s in their murderous raids against the Indochinese and as a depot of nuclear weapons and toxic chemicals in the preparation of a new war of aggression against Asian peoples.

More recently, under the impact of heavy reverses in South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the US imperialists have more insistently urged the Japanese militants to "play their role" in an active manner in Indochina. Welcoming US Defence Secretary Melvin Laird in his trip to Japan, Sato promised to shoulder the major part of the US economic burden in Indochina. As a matter of fact, the contribution of the Japanese reactionaries to the US war in Indochina is not confined to the economic sphere, since Japan has become for quite a long time an arsenal of weapons and ammunition for the US. Noboru Takeshita, secretary general of the Japanese cabinet, admitted that Sato had given Laird the assurance that Japan would take on herself the responsibility of defending Japan and the surrounding sea areas. This means that the ambitious Japanese militarists are courting stronger US support by offering their own assistance to US enlarged aggressive activities in Korea, China, Indochina and other Asian countries in the vain hope of materializing their age-old dream of a "Greater East Asia."

There is no doubt that the ever closer collusion between US imperialism and Japanese militarism is confronting the peoples of Asia with the threat of a new war of aggression. The Japanese people become once again tied to the war chariot of the most bellicose, reactionary forces of our times — US and Japanese imperialisms. But there is no doubt either that the peoples of Asia, who were once victims of Japanese aggression, will heighten their vigilance and keep ready to cross their new and sinister schemes.

The development of events has generated a close relationship between the South Vietnamese anti-US resistance and the Japanese drive against the "US-Japan security treaty," for the full and unconditional return of Okinawa to Japan, the dismantling of all US military bases in Japan, the complete withdrawal from Japan of A and H and bacteriological and chemical weapons, and the cessation of the US aggression against Indochina. These are the two sides of a struggle which links comrade-in-arms fighting a common enemy — US imperialism backed by Japanese militarism.

The Japanese reactionary authorities have ever since been frightened by the just voice of the South Vietnamese people. At present, they are still preventing the latter from attending the world progressives' annual Tokyo International Conference against A and H bombs. But how can they conceal their features as the tail of US imperialism in the eyes of the world peoples?

The South Vietnamese people have dealt a deadly blow at the US "Vietnamization" policy. They are resolved to fight even harder to completely foil this reactionary policy and to combine actions with the Japanese and Asian peoples in foiling the "Nixon doctrine" in this area of the world.

No doubt the legitimate effort of the Vietnamese, Indochinese, Japanese and Asian peoples for peace, national independence and social progress will make fresh progress and drive back US imperialism — the enemy number one of the Asian and world peoples—and its reactionary agents and send them to the bottom of the Pacific.

DAI LIEN

Shame to the US flag!
An American demonstrator lowering the US flag as a sign of indignation against the war